1: Obermeyer E-5 (1964-1965) 1969 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
'Aishaibat

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113

Abou-Zeid, A.
1966 Honor and shame among the Bedouins of Egypt. IN Honor and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society. J.G. Peristiany, ed. London.
n.d. A preliminary report on the Western Desert. Cairo. U.S.A. Unpublished manuscript.

Almond, G.A. and G.B. Powell
1966 Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach. Boston.

Ayoub, M.R.
1959 Parallel cousin marriage and endogamy: A study in sociometry. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 15:266-281.

Baer, G.
1957 Some aspects of Bedouin sedentarization in 19th century Egypt. Die Welt des Islams 5:84-98.
1964 Population and Society in the Arab East. London.

Barth, F.
1954 Father's brother's daughter marriage in Kurdistan. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 10:164-172.

Bateson, G.
1958 Naven. 2nd ed. Stanford, Calif.

Bendix, R.
1960 Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait. New York.

Bidney, D.
1953 Theoretical Anthropology. New York.
1967 Introduction to second edition. IN Theoretical Anthropology. New York.

Bierstedt, R.
1957 The Social Order. New York.

Bohannan, P.
1958 Extra-processual events in Tiv political institutions. American Anthropologist 60:1-12.

1: Obermeyer E-5 (1964-1965) 1969 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
'Aishaibat

113 Brockelmann, C.
1960 History of the Islamic Peoples. English ed. New York.

Burke, K.
1957 The Philosophy of Literary Forms. New York.

Cohen, R.
1962 The strategy of social evolution. Anthropologica, N.S., 4:322-348.

Coulson, N.J.
1964 A History of Islamic Law. Edinburgh.

De Grazia, S.
1948 The Political Community: A Study of Anomie. Chicago.

Driver, H.
1966 Geographical-historical versus psycho-functional explanations of kin avoidances. Current Anthropology 7:131-147.

Easton, D.
1953 The Political System: An Inquiry into the State of Political Science. New York.
1959 Political anthropology. IN Biennial Review of Anthropology. B. Siegel, ed. Stanford, Calif.
1965a A Framework for Political Analysis. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.
1965b A Systems Analysis of Political Life. New York.

Edel, M.
1965 African tribalism: Some reflections on Uganda. Political Science Quarterly 80:357-372.

Eisenstadt, S.N.
1965 Essays on Comparative Institutions. New York.

Evans-Pritchard, E.E.
1940 The Nuer. London.
1954 The Sanusi of Cyrenaica. London.

Fallers, L.
1956 Bantu Bureaucracy: A Century of Political Evolution among the Basoga of Uganda. London.
1961 Are African cultivators to be called peasants? Current Anthropology 2:108-110.
1963 Political sociology and the anthropological study of African politics. European Journal of Sociology 4:311-325.

1: Obermeyer E-5 (1964-1965) 1969 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
'Aishaibat

•113

1966 Max Weber's concept of traditional authority. Paper read at annual meeting of American Political Science Association.
1963 Equality, modernity, and democracy in the New States. IN Old Societies and New States. C. Geertz, ed. New York.

Firth, R.
1951 Elements of Social Organization. Boston.

Fortes, M.
1945 The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi. Oxford.
1949 The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi. Oxford.
1953 The structure of unilineal descent groups. American Anthropologist 55:17-41.

Fortes, M. and E.E. Evans-Pritchard (eds.)
1940 African Political Systems. London.

Geertz, C.
1957 Ritual and social change: A Javanese example. American Anthropologist. 59:32-54.
1960a The Religion of Java. New York.
1960b The Javanese Kijaji: The changing role of a cultural broker. Comparative Studies in Society and History 2:228-250.
1962 The growth of culture and the evolution of the mind. IN Theories of the Mind. J.M. Scher, ed. New York.
1964 Ideology as a cultural system. IN Ideology and Discontent. D. Apter, ed. New York.

Gerth, H.H. and C.W. Mills
1946 From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. New York.

Gibb, H.A.R.
1955 Mohammedanism. 2nd ed. New York.

Gluckman, M.
1963 Order and Rebellion in Tribal Africa. London.

Goldhamer, H. and E. Shils
1939 Types of power and status. American Journal of Sociology 45:171-182.

Hagen, E.E.
1962 On the Theory of Social Change: How Economic Growth Begins. Homewood, Ill.

1: Obermeyer E-5 (1964-1965) 1969 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
'Aishaibat

•113 Halpern, J.
1967 The Changing Village Community. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

Herskovits, M.
1952 Economic Anthropology. New York.

Ibn Khaldun
1925 Histoire des Berberes et des Dynasties Musulmanes de l'Afrique Septentrionale. Baron de Slane, ed. Paris.

Ladd, J.
1957 The Structure of a Moral Code. Cambridge, Mass.

Lane, E.W.
1903 The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians. London.

Leach, E.R.
1954 Political Systems of Highland Burma: A Study of Kachin Social Structure. London.

LeVine, R.A.
1960 The internalization of political values in stateless societies. Human Organization 19:51-58.

Levy, M.J., Jr.
1952 The Structure of Society. Princeton, N.J.

Levy, R.
1957 The Social Structure of Islam. Cambridge, England.

Linton, R.
1936 The Study of Man. New York.

Mackenzie, W.J.M.
1967 Politics and Social Science. Baltimore, Md.

Mahdi, M.
1964 Ibn Khaldun's Philosophy of History. Chicago.

Maine, H.
1917 Ancient Law. London.

Mead, M.
1964 Continuities in Cultural Evolution. New Haven, Conn.

Merton, R.K.
1957 Social Theory and Social Structure. rev. ed. New York.

1: Obermeyer E-5 (1964-1965) 1969 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
'Aishaibat

•113 Middleton, J.
1960 Lugbara Religion. Oxford.

Middleton, J. and D. Tait (eds.)
1958 Tribes Without Rulers: Studies in African Segmentary Systems. London.

Moore, B., Jr.
1958 Political Power and Social Theory. Cambridge, Mass.

Murphy, R.E. and L. Kasdan
1959 The structure of parallel cousin marriage. American Anthropologist 61:17-29.

Murray, G.W.
1935 Sons of Ismael. London.

Nadel, S.F.
1957 The Theory of Social Structure. Glencoe, Ill.

Parsons, T.
1937 The Structure of Social Action. New York.
1953 Revised analytical approach to the theory of social stratification. IN Class, Status and Power. R. Bendix, and S.M. Lipset, eds. New York
1960 Structure and Process in Modern Societies. New York.
1966 Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.

Parsons, T. and E. Shils
1951 Toward a General Theory of Action: Theoretical Foundations for the Social Sciences. Cambridge, Mass.

Patai, R.
1962 From Golden River to Golden Road: Society, Culture, and Change in the Middle East. New York.

Peters, E.
1960 The proliferation of segments in the lineage of the Bedouin of Cyrenaica. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 90:29-53.
1965 Aspects of the family among the Bedouin of Cyrenaica. IN Comparative Family Systems. M.F. Nimkoff, ed. Boston.
1967 Some structural aspects of the feud among the Bedouin of Cyrenaica. Africa 37:262-282.

Pospisil, L.
1963 The Kapauku Papuans of West New Guinea. New York.
1968 Law and order. IN Introduction to Cultural Anthropology. J.A. Clifton, ed. Boston.

1: Obermeyer E-5 (1964-1965) 1969 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
'Aishaibat

113 Radcliffe-Brown, A.R.
1940 Preface. IN African Political Systems. M. Fortes and E.E. Evans-Pritchard, eds. Oxford.
1952 Structure and Function in Primitive Society. London.

Radin, M.
1935 Tradition. IN Encyclopedia of Social Sciences 15.

Radin, P.
1957 Primitive Man as Philosopher. 2nd ed. New York.

Redfield, R.
1953 The Primitive World and Its Transformation. Ithaca, New York.
1960 The Little Community and Peasant Society and Culture. Chicago.
1962 Human Nature and the Study of Society: The Papers of Robert Redfield, Vol. I. Margaret Park Redfield, ed. Chicago.

Sahlins, M.
1963 Poor man, rich man, big man, chief: Political types in Melanesia and Polynesia. Comparative Studies in Society and History 5:285-304.

Schacht, J.
1953 The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence. Oxford.

Schapera, I.
1956 Government and Politics in Tribal Societies. London.

Service, E.R.
1966 The Hunters. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.

Smith, M.G.
1956 Segmentary lineage systems. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 86:39-80.
1966 A structural approach to comparative politics. IN Varieties of Political Theory. D. Easton, ed. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.

Smith, W.R.
1903 Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia. new ed. London.

Southall, A.
1956 Alur Society: A Study in Processes and Types of Domination. Cambridge, England.
1959 An operational theory of role. Human Relations 12:17-35.

1: Obermeyer E-5 (1964-1965) 1969 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
'Aishaibat

•113 1965 A critique of the typology of states and political systems. IN Political Systems and the Distribution of Power. M. Banton, ed. London.

Sharp, L.
1958 People without politics. IN Systems of Political Control and Bureaucracy in Human Societies. V.E. Ray, ed. Seattle, Wash.

Stern, G.
1936 Marriage in Early Islam. London.

Steward, J.
1938 Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Socio-political Groups. Smithsonian B.A.E. Bulletin 120. Washington, D.C.

Stone, G. and M. Farberman
1967 On the edge of rapprochment: Was Durkheim moving toward the perspective of symbolic interaction? Sociological Quarterly 8:149-165.

von Grunebaum, G.
1962 Modern Islam: The Search for Cultural Identity. Berkeley and Los Angeles, Calif.

Wagner, G.
1940 The political organization of the Bantu of Kavirondo. IN African Political Systems. M. Fortes and E.E. Evans-Pritchard, eds. London.

Warriner, D.
1962 Land Reform and Development in the Middle East: A Study of Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. 2nd ed. London.

Weber, M.
1947 The theory of Social and Economic Organization. Edited with Introduction by Talcott Parsons. New York.
1954 Max Weber on Law in Economy and Society. Translated by E. Shils and M. Rheinstein. Cambridge, Mass.

Wehr, H.
1961 A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic. J.M. Cowan, ed. Ithaca, N.Y.

Westermarck, E.A.
1925 A Short History of Marriage. London.

Wolf, E.
1956 Aspects of group relations in a complex society. American Anthropologist 58:1065-1079.

1: Obermeyer E-5 (1964-1965) 1969 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
'Aishaibat

•113

1957 Closed corporate peasant communities in Mesoamerica and Central Java. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 13:1-18.

1966 Peasants. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.

Wolff, K. (ed.)
1950 The Sociology of George Simmel. New York.

Wood, L.A.
1959 An Inquiry into the Preference for Parallel Cousin Marriage among the Contemporary Arabs. Unpublished thesis, Columbia University, New York.

Worsley, P.
1964 The Third World. Chicago.

2: Mohsen E.O-5 (1958-1966) 1971 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Awlad Ali

BIBLIOGRAPHY

●113 Abou Zeid, A. M.

1959 The sedentarization of nomads in the Western Desert of Egypt. International Social Science Journal, U.N.E.S.C.O., 11(4): 550-558.

1963 Honor and shame among the Bedouins of Egypt. In Honor and Shame: The Value of Mediterranean Society, J. G. Peristiany, ed. London, Weidenfeld, pp. 243-259.

Allen, C. K.

1958 Law in the making. London, Oxford University Press.

Allott, A. N.

1953 Methods of legal research into customary law. Journal of African Administration, 5(4):172-177.

Anderson, J. N. D.

1957 Law as a social force in Islamic culture and history. Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 20:13-40.

Arbos, P.

1923 The geography of pastoral life. Geographical Review, 13: 559-575.

Arab League

1954 Report of the Fourth Arab Social Welfare Seminar held in Baghdad, Cairo, N.D. (Arabic).

Aubert, V.

1963 Researches in the sociology of law. The American Behavioral Scientist, 7(4):16-20.

113 Austin, J.

1885 Lectures on jurisprudence or the philosophy of primitive law, R. Campbell, ed. London, John Murray, vol. 1.

Awad, M.

1954 The assimilation of nomads in Egypt. The Geographical Review, 36:240-252.

1959 Settlement of nomadic and semi-nomadic tribal groups in the Middle East. International Labour Review, 51(1): 25-26.

1962 Nomadism in the Arab lands of the Middle East. Problems of the Arid Zone: Proceedings of the Paris Symposium, U.N.E.S.C.O., pp. 325-339.

Barnes, J. A.

1961 Law as politically active: an anthropological view. In Studies in the Sociology of Law, G. Sawer, ed. Canberra, Australian National University, pp. 167-196.

Barth, F.

1954 Father's brother's daughter marriage in Kurdistan. SWJA, vol. 10.

1961 Nomads of South Persia, Oslo, University of Oslo Press.

1962a Report on a Study of Nomads and the Problem of Sedentarization in Iran. (typescript)

1962b Nomadism in the mountain and plateau areas of southwest Asia. In U.N.E.S.C.O. Symposium, pp. 341-355.

Barton, R. F.

1949 The Kalingas: their institutions and customary law. Introduction by E. A. Hoebel. Chicago, University of Chicago.

113 Berque, J.

1959 Introduction to nomads and nomadism in the Arid Zone. International Social Science Journal, U.N.E.S.O., 11(4):481-498.

Bohannan, P. J.

1957 Justice and judgment among the Tiv. London, Oxford University Press, for the International African Institute.

1960 African homocide and suicide. Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press.

1964 Anthropology and the law. In Horizons of Anthropology, S. Tax, ed. Chicago, Aldine, pp. 191-199.

1965 The differing realms of the law. American Anthropologist Special Publication, The Ethnography of law, Laura Nader, ed. pp. 33-42.

Capot-Rey, R.

1962 The present state of nomadism in the Sahara. U.N.E.S.C.O. Symposium. pp. 300-310.

Coon, C. S.

1951 Caravan: the story of the Middle East. New York, Henry Holt and Co.

1955 The nomads. In Social Forces in the Middle East, S. N. Fisher, ed, New York, pp. 32-42.

Coulson, N. J.

1957 The state and the individual in Islamic law. International and Comparative Law Quarterly, 5(1):49-60.

1964 A history of Islamic law. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

113 Diamond, A. S.

1935 Primitive law. London and New York, Longmans, Green.

Despois, J.

1949 L'Afrique Du Nord. London, Presses Universitaires de France.

Evans-Pritchard, E. E.

1949 The Sanusi of Cyrenaica. London, Oxford University Press.

1949 The Nuer

1963 The comparative method in social anthropology. London, University of London, Athlone Press.

F.A.O.

1959 Mediterranean Development Project: The integrated development of Mediterranean agriculture and forestry in relation to economic growth: a study and proposals for action. Rome.

Fisher, W. B.

1956 The Middle East: a physical and social regional geography. London, Methuen.

Fustel De Coulages, N. D.

1864 The Ancient City: a study on the religion, laws and institution of Greece and Rome. New York, Doubleday and Co., 1956.

Gallin, B.

1963 Cousin marriage in China. Ethnology, 2:104-108.

1966 Mediation in changing Chinese society. In Political Anthropology, M. Swartz, V. Turner, A. Tuden, eds.

Gautier, E. F.

1921 Nomads and sedentary folks of Northern Africa. Geographical Review, 11:2-15.

1950 Le Sahara. Paris, Payot.

2: Mohsen E.O-5 (1958-1966) 1971 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Awlad Ali

● 113 Gibbs, J. L., Jr.

1963 The Kpelle Moot: a therapeutic model for the informal settlement of disputes. Africa, 33:1-11.

Gluckman, M.

1955a The judicial process among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia. Manchester University Press.

1955b Custom and conflict in Africa. Glencoe, The Free Press.

1959 The technical vocabulary of Barotse jurisprudence. AA61:743-759.

1962 African jurisprudence. The Advancement of Science, 75:439-454.

1965a The ideas in Barotse jurisprudence. New Haven and London, Yale University Press.

1965b Politics, law and ritual in tribal society. Chicago, Aldine.

Golding, E. W.

1961 Arid zones and social change. Impact of Science on Society, 11(1):31-52.

Gray, J.

1921 The nature and sources of the law. New York, Columbia University Press.

Gulliver, P. H.

1963 Social control in an African society: a study of the Arusha agricultural Masai of Northern Tanganyika. Boston, Boston University Press.

Habachy, Saba

1962 Property, right and contract in Muslim law. Columbia Law Review, 62:450-473.

Hartlend, E. S.

1924 Primitive Law. London, Metheun.

Hart, H. L. A.

1961 The concept of law. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Higgins, B.

1953 The economic and social development of Libya. Geneva, U.N.

Hoebel, E. A.

1940 The political organization and law-ways of the Comanche Indians. American Anthropology Association, Memoir 54. Contribution from the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology, Vol. 4.

1948 The anthropology of inheritance. In Conference on Social Meaning of Legal Concepts. E. N. Cahn, ed. New York, New York University.

1961a The law of primitive man: a study in comparative legal dynamics. Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press.

1961b Three studies in African law. Stanford Law Review, 13:418-442.

Hogbin, H. I.

1934 Law and Order in Polynesia: a study in primitive legal institutions. London, Christophers.

Howell, P. P.

1954 A manual of Nuer law. Being an account of customary law, its evolution and development in the courts established by the Sudan government. London, New York and Toronto, Oxford University Press.

Hughs, C. C.

1966 From contest to council. In Political Anthropology, M. Swartz, V. Turner, and A. Tuden, eds. Chicago, Aldine.

2: Mohsen E,O-5 (1958-1966) 1971 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Awlad Ali

●113 I. L. O.

1960 Labour survey of North Africa. Geneva, I. L. O.

Kantrowicz, H.

1958 The definition of law. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Kennett, A.

1925 Bedouin justice: laws and customs among the Egyptian Bedouins. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Krader, L.

1959 The ecology of nomadic pastoralism. International Social Science Journal, U.N.E.S.C.O., 11:499-510.

Leach, E. R.

1954 Political systems of Highland Burma: a study of Kachin social structure. London, G. Bell and Sons, Ltd.

1959 Letter to the editor: social change and primitive law. AA61(6):1096-1097.

Levy, R.

1957 The social structure of Islam. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Lindberg, J.

1952 A general economic appraisal of Libya. U.N.

Llewellyn, K. N. and E. A. Hoebel

1941 The Cheyenne way: conflict and case law in primitive jurisprudence. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.

Maine, Sir H. S.

1861 Ancient law: its connection with the early history of society and its relation to modern ideas. London, John Murray. Paperback edition printed by Beacon Press, Boston, 1963.

• 113 1871 Village communities in the East and West. London, John Murray.

Malinowski, B.

1926 Crime and Custom in Savage Society. London, Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner and Company.

1934 Introduction to law and order in Polynesia by H. Ian Hogbin.

1942 A new instrument for the interpretation of law - especially primitive. The Yale Law Review, 51:1237-1254.

March, J. G.

1956 Sociological jurisprudence revisited, a review (more or less) of Max Gluckman. Stanford Law Review, 8:499-534.

Mead, M.

1961 Some anthropological considerations concerning natural law. Natural Law Form, 6:51-64.

Monteil, V.

1959 The evolution and settlement of the nomads of the Sahara. International Social Science Journal. Paris, U.N.E.S.C.O., 11:572-585.

Murphy, R. and Leonard Kasdan

1959 The structure of parallel cousin marriage, AA61:17-29.

Murray, G. W.

1935 Sons of Ishmael: a study of the Egyptian Bedouin. London.

Nadel, S. F.

1956 Reason and unreason in African law. Africa, 26, 2:160-419.

Nader, L.

1964 An analysis of Zapotec law cases. Ethnology, 3:404-419.

●113 1965 Choices in legal procedures: shia Muslems and Maxican Zapotec, AA67(2):394-399.

Nagel, S. S.

1962 Cultural patterns and judicial systems. Vandebilt Law Review, 16:147-157.

Narighi, E.

1961 Le nomadisme dans les pays du Moyen-Orient. Colloque surla conservation et restoration des sols, pp. 363-382.

Nicholas, R. W.

1965 Factions: a comparative analysis. In Political Systems and the Distribution of Power. ASA Monographs No. 2. London, Tavistock Publications. New York, Frederick A. Praeger.

1966 Segmentary factional political systems. In Political Anthropology, M. Swartz, V. Turner and A. Tuden, eds. Chicago, Aldine.

Peters, E.

1960 The proliferation of segments in the lineage of the Bedouin in Cyrenaica. JRAI, 90:29-53.

Pospisil, L.

1967 The attributes of law. In Law and Warfare edited by Paul Bohannan. Natural History Press.

1958a Kapauku Papuans and their law. Yale University Publications in Anthropology 54.

1958b Social change and primitive law: consequences of a Papuan legal case, AA60:832-837.

Pound, R.

1910-11 The scope and purpose of sociological jurisprudence. Harvard Law Review, 24:591-619.

●113 Radcliffe-Brown

1933 Law, primitive. In Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Vol. 9.

1940 Preface. In African Political Systems, Meyer Fortes and E.E. Evans-Pritchard, eds. Oxford, pp. xi-xiii.

1952 Structure and function in primitive society. Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press.

Radin, M.

1938 A restatement of Hohfeld. Harvard Law Review, 51:1141-1144.

Redfield, R.

1950 Maine's ancient law in the light of primitive societies. Western Political Quarterly, 3:571-589.

1964 Primitive law. University of Cincinnati Law Review, 33(1):1-22.

Salmond, J.

1946 Jurisprudence. London, Sweet and Maxwell.

Savigny, F. von

1937 System des Heutigne Romischen Rechts (1840-1849). Holloway's translation (1937).

Schacht, J.

1950 Origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence. Clarendon Press.

1964 An introduction to Islamic law. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Schapera, I.

1938-55 A handbook of Tswana law and custom. London, New York and Cape Town, Oxford University Press for International African Institute.

2: Mohsen E.O-5 (1958-1966) 1971 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Awlad Ali

● 113 Schwartz, R. D. and J. C. Miller

1964 Legal evolution and societal complexity. The American Journal of Sociology, 70(2):159-169.

Seagle, W.

1937 Primitive law and Professor Malinowski. AA39:275-290.

1941 The quest for law. New York

Smith, W. and J. M. Roberts

1954 Zuni law: a field of values. Cambridge, Massachusetts. Peabody Museum Papers, 43(1).

Stone, J.

1964 Legal systems and lawyer's reasoning. Stanford, Stanford University Press.

1965 Social dimension of law and justice. Stanford, Stanford University Press.

Swartz, M.

1966 Bases for compliance in Bena villages. In Political Anthropology, M. J. Swartz, V. M. Turner, and A. Tuden, eds. Chicago, Aldine.

1967 Local level politics. Chicago, Aldine.

Swartz, M., V. M. Turner and A. Tuden, eds.

1966a Introduction. In Political Anthropology, S. Swartz, V. Turner, and A. Tuden, eds. Chicago, Aldine.

1966b Political Anthropology. Chicago, Aldine.

Tannus, A. I.

1947 The Arab tribal community in a nationalist state. The Middle East Journal, 1:5-17.

•113 1963 The nomadic and semi-nomadic tribal populations in U.A.R. Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, University of Alexandria, Vol.17.

Turner, V.

1957 Schism and continuity in an African society: a study of Ndemby village life. Manchester, England, Manchester University Press.

Weber, M.

1954 Max Weber on law in economy and society, M. Rheinstein, ed. Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

*795 786 which the soul experiences God. It is suffused with knowledge: not with *'ilm*, intellectual and traditional knowledge, but with *ma'rifa*, gnosis, wisdom. The Grand Sanusi and his successors [785] very strongly disapproved of external aids to this end, such as processions, music, movements of the body inducing convulsions, piercing the flesh with sharp implements, and such other means as are used by some Orders, and steered a middle course between the illuminative, or intuitive, school of Sufi writers and the rational, or intellectual, school. Thus Sayyid Ahmad al-*795 Sharif, his grandson, has ... his writings, as Moreno points out,[1] exhorted followers of the Order not to depart from the rational, the chief aim of the Sanusiya being to make a man a good Muslim rather than a good mystic. Mysticism is something added to orthodox faith and morals, not a substitute for them.

*795 787 It is for this reason that, as Sayyid Ahmad insists, perfection is to be sought through spiritual identification with the Prophet Muhammad rather than with God, at any rate for ordinary people. This is to be attained by contemplation of the essence of the Prophet and by an inner knowledge of him through constant imitation of his actions, attention to his words, and blessing him. The contemplation should be so intense that veneration of the Prophet pervades the adept till at last he hears only his name and has only his form before the eyes of the intellect. Then the Prophet becomes his sole guide and counsellor.

*795 As this is not a treatise on Sufism there is no need to give further details about the mystical content of the Sanusiya. It should, however, be stressed that the rigorous orthodoxy of the Order, and especially its insistence on conformity to the original teachings of the Prophet, meant that the faith and morals which the Prophet preached to the Bedouin of his day, and which they accepted, were equally suited to the Bedouin of Cyrenaica, who in all essentials were leading, and still lead, a life like to that of the Bedouin in Arabia in the seventh century. In particular, [793] the refusal of the Grand Sanusi to allow the more demonstrative [786] forms of ecstasy, which, together with lack of organization and direction, characterize so many of the Sufi Orders of North [157] Africa, enabled the Bedouin to adopt his teachings and ritual, for Bedouin are an undemonstrative people and it is difficult to imagine them piercing their cheeks with skewers, eating glass,

[113]

[1] M. M. Moreno, *Brevi Nozioni d'Islam*, 1927, p. 58.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

or swaying into convulsions. Indeed, it is noticeable that the Orders which permit such practices, notably the 'Arusiya, 'Isawiya, Rifa'iya, and Sa'adiya, so popular in the towns of Libya, have made no converts among the true Bedouin.

It is unnecessary to discuss further the mystical side to the Sanusiya for another reason. The Bedouin of Cyrenaica with whom this book is concerned have only the slightest knowledge of either the religious teachings or the ritual of the Order, and are interested in neither. They belong to the illiterate class of the *Muntasabin*, the simple adherents of the Order who follow its Shaikh personally and politically. It is very seldom, if ever, that the Bedouin know the special prayers and litanies of the Order, and their use of them, if any, is restricted to getting a scribe to write them on paper so that they can sew them up in leather and tie them to their bodies. It is only a tiny educated minority who regularly recite the prayer formulas and litanies. These are the *Ikhwan*, the Brothers of the Order. They live in the lodges of the Order and hold prayer-meetings there. Among the Brothers are some who have been raised to the position of Shaikhs of lodges, generally, in past times, after special training at the University of the Order at Jaghbub oasis, where they have received a diploma from the Head of the Order or from one of his family or inner circle. This inner circle, the *Khawass*, consists vaguely to-day of a few senior members of the Sanusi family and two or three learned Brothers and does not function as a Body, but in the past it was, according to Sayyid Muhammad Idris, an official Council controlling the affairs of the Order and was composed of four Shaikhs of the Order, who were not of the Sanusi family, under the presidency of the Head of the Order, who had to be a member of the founder's family. As Dr. Adams points out,[1] the fact that this inner circle is no longer a determinate Body indicates a change in the character of the Order, a development of its political, to the detriment of its religious, functions. This development has favoured the interests of the Sanusi family to the disadvantage of the Order as a whole.

The *Shaikh al-Tariqa*, Head of the Order, advised in past times by his Council, appoints the Shaikhs of the lodges and these Shaikhs can ordain Brothers and the Brothers can receive

[1] C. C. Adams, 'The Sanusiya Order', *Handbook on Cyrenaica*, 1944, p. 31.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

praise of which many poems have been written by Brothers of the Order. The Grand Sanusi forbad music, dancing, and singing in the recitations of the Order, but in this he was at one with all the official spokesmen of Islam. Most reformist movements in Islam tend towards asceticism.

Far from being extreme ascetics, however, the Sanusi Brothers eat and dress well, even using scent, and are amiable and merry companions. The Tunisian scholar and traveller Muhammad 'Uthman al-Hashaishi, who travelled in 1896 via Malta, Tripoli, and Banghazi to Kufra to visit al-Sayyid al-Mahdi and met the leading Brothers of the time, remarks that 'they are fond of diversions, honest jesting. I have visited many of their zawiyas and I have made the acquaintance of many of their notables: I have seen only cheerful and smiling faces, welcoming me with benevolence and kindness. May God reward them!'[1]

The Grand Sanusi discouraged the trappings of poverty by his example, his exhortations, and his insistence on the Brothers being self-supporting. Although the Heads of the Sanusiya Order, like the Wahhabi leaders, encouraged settlement on the land, they can hardly have hoped to have greatly influenced the Bedouin to this end; but they insisted on the lodges of the Order supporting themselves by agriculture supplemented by stock-raising, and thereby took a stand against *ittikal*, the dependence for livelihood on alms and not on labour which some mendicant Orders have advocated.

The Order has always been, in fact, conventional as well as orthodox. In its early period it was essentially a missionary Order with the limited aim of bringing by peaceful persuasion the Bedouin Arabs and the peoples of the Sahara and the Sudan to a fuller understanding of the beliefs and morals of Islam, while giving them at the same time the blessings of civilization: justice, peace, trade, and education. Its principles were, as Shaikh Muhammad 'Uthman says, simply 'to do good and avoid evil'.[2]

The accusation of fanaticism is not borne out by either the character of the Bedouin adherents of the Order or by its actions.

[1] Mohammed ben Otsmane el-Hachaichi, *Voyage au Pays des Senoussia à travers La Tripolitaine et les Pays Touareg*, 1912, p. 128 (1st ed., 1903).

[2] Ibid., p. 86.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

and the insufficiency of the fall elsewhere. It follows that only on the plateau can there be forest, and only there is a settled and purely agricultural way of life possible; and it was there and on the coastal fringe that in ancient and modern times European colonists settled.

The rains in Cyrenaica fall only in winter, from October to April. In the absence of irrigation the planting season is thus clearly delimited. So is the grazing season to the south of the plateau, for in summer the grasses wither and the wells dry up, compelling shepherds to drive their flocks northwards to the plateau, thus producing the kind of seasonal nomadism known as transhumance. The variation in total rainfall from year to year and the distribution of its fall over the winter months are of the utmost importance for agriculturalists in Cyrenaica. There is still some obscurity, but it is an observed fact that every few years in Cyrenaica there is a year in which the fall of rain is insufficient, or too badly distributed, to raise an adequate crop. In a mixed economy this fact must have given an overwhelming bias towards pastoralism.

The water supplies of the plateau, which depend entirely on rainfall, are sufficient for the needs of the Bedouin and their flocks. The clayey soils are, however, very exacting and running spring water is rare, being for the most part restricted to the triangle Darna–Slanta–al-Haniya. On the western part of the plateau water is conserved in cisterns and wells and on the maritime and *barqa* plains, in the Sirtica and Marmarica, and generally to the south of the plateau, in wells.

The distribution of vegetation in Cyrenaica follows variation in degree of precipitation. Where there is much rain there is forest. Where there is little rain there is steppe. Where there is no rain there is desert. The forest is thick but mainly squat and of very limited extension. An Italian estimate[1] of its distribution is shown on the accompanying map. It is predominantly Mediterranean in type, the juniper and the lentisk being the two commonest trees of the country. Forest ceases a few miles to the south of the high watershed of the plateau and gives way to steppe. The well-known route Tariq 'Aziza is generally regarded as the dividing line between the two kinds

[1] Dott. Giovanni Manzoni, 'Memorie sui boschi della Cirenaica', *Notiziario Economico della Cirenaica*, 1929.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

useful mostly for transport and ploughing, though they give a good milk yield and a fair harvest of wool. There are horses, of Berber rather than of Arab type, in every big camp. They are kept for the saddle alone, being much used in old days for hawking, and are a sign of wealth and social position.

The census figures for domesticated animals are probably highly inaccurate. The flocks and herds were certainly much greater, especially for camels and horses, before the Italians ravaged the country. The Turkish figures for 1910 were 713,000 sheep, 546,300 goats, 83,300 camels, 23,600 cattle, and 27,000 horses, and it has been reckoned that by 1933 these had been reduced to 98,000 sheep, 25,000 goats, 2,600 camels, 8,700 cattle, and 1,000 horses.[1] Before the outbreak of the second Italo-Sanusi war in 1923 the normal export to the markets of Egypt was 80,000 sheep and goats a year, and it was reckoned that a settled Cyrenaica could produce annually for export at least 100,000 to 150,000 sheep and goats and 6,000 camels. The country used to satisfy a considerable portion of Egypt's meat requirements. It also exported clarified butter in big quantities, 91,835 kilograms being the figure for 1922 and 75,462 the figure for 1923.[2]

Although the Bedouin are by practice and inclination shepherds first and cultivators afterwards, all plough. Barley and some wheat are a staple food. Indeed, in most years they cultivate a surplus of barley which they trade, and it may be said that for the most part they are self-supporting as far as their flour requirements go. On the southern slopes of the plateau and in the *barqa* plain ploughing begins from the middle of October to the middle of November, according to the rains. The coastal belt is sown a little later and the plateau in December and January when the grasses begin to sprout. By mid-April the first harvest, that of the *barqa* and the southern slopes of the plateau, is being reaped, and on the plateau reaping goes on from May to the end of August. Everywhere barley is sown greatly in excess of wheat, for wheaten bread is not considered a necessity and barley is required for horses as well as for men.

[1] Jean Despois, *La Colonisation Italienne en Libya: Problèmes et Méthodes*, 1935. p. 44; Hans w: son Ahlmann, *La Libia Settentrionale*, 1930, p. 78. (First published in 1928.)

[2] *L'Oltremare*, Mar. 1930; *Rivista delle Colonie Italiane*, 1934, p. 885; Francesco Coro, *Settantasei Anni di Dominazione Turca in Libia*, 1937, p. 82.

8:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

Europeans consider to be a low level of civilization. They do not feel the need for expensive roads and ports, electric light, wireless sets, telephones, schools, churches, newspapers, and so forth; and clearly their economy could not support them. Time and again colonists, tempted from their homes by the short sea routes and the wooded plateau, have settled in the country and dispossessed the Bedouin, but in the end it is the Bedouin, and not the colonists, who have survived. When one looks at the massive Phoenician, Greek, Egyptian, and Roman ruins and the already half-ruined Italian towns, villages, and farms, and then on the flimsy tents of the Arabs, one cannot but reflect that the race is not always to the swift nor the battle to the strong.

III

Even in the steppe country it is difficult to find a Bedouin *naja'*, camp, for the camps are pitched in hollows and on the slopes of wadis and their feeders for shelter from rain and wind and too many visitors. On the plateau they are hidden in the forest. One cannot, therefore, make more than a very approximate estimate of the population of any part of the country, or of its distribution, by bare observation. It can, however, be said that at present the country is underpopulated and that the population is badly distributed between town and country, the urban part of it, which is almost entirely unproductive, being too large in relation to the whole.

There have been a number of estimates of the population by early travellers who visited the country in Turkish times. They had to make a guess at the population figure, aided by Turkish censuses. It has been suggested on the basis of their reports that the country then supported round about 250,000 souls.[1] The Turkish census of 1911 gave the population as 198,345, excluding Kufra.[2] Taking into account the various estimates which were made during the Italo-Sanusi wars, in the interval between them, and since, it may be said that to-day the total population of Cyrenaica is probably round about 200,000, of whom about a quarter live in the towns, the remainder being tented Bedouin and a few thousand oasis dwellers.

[1] Dr. Gotthold Hildebrandt, *Cyrenaïka als Gebiet künftiger Besiedelung*, 1904, p. 317.

[2] Coro, op. cit., p. 20.

433 511 182 182 167 361 161 162 161 175 [113]

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

161 If the Bedouin of the country number no more than 150,000
162 it is evident that density of population outside the towns must
114 be very low indeed. Ricci's map, based on Col. De Agostini's census, shows a density of 0 to 5 per sq. km. for all the tribes of Cyrenaica except the 'Arafa, the Darsa, and the Hasa, all plateau tribes, for which he gives a density of 5 to 10.[1] Col. De Agostini, in his exhaustive monograph,[2] written before the worst Italian excesses, reckoned the native population of Cyrenaica at 185,400, of whom 181,750 were Arabs and 3,650 Jews. Of the Arabs about 25,000—I give round figures—were living in urban centres, about 7,000 in the oases, and about 150,000 were tented Bedouin. Of the Bedouin he classed only 16,000 as nomads, 35,000 as semi-nomads, and 99,000 as stable. His classification into nomads, semi-nomads, and stable was, as he recognized, arbitrary, since there is no reliable criterion of stability among a tented people, but it gives a useful indication of relative mobility. By 'stable' Col. De Agostini meant normal residence in a determined area within which the tents are pitched here and there for watering or other reasons and with periodic movements for sowing and pasturing, even though some days away from their usual seat, as we find among the 'Arafa tribe and a considerable part of the Hasa, the Darsa, and the 'Abaidat tribes. By 'semi-nomads' he meant those Bedouin who spread with greater frequency and more widely either in their own territory or towards zones of sowing or pasturing where they remain for a long time on account of less prosperous conditions in their own territory, such as we find in the Magharba tribe and parts of the 'Awaqir, the Bara'asa, and the 'Abaidat tribes and in many of the more important client groups. By 'nomads' he meant Bedouin who, although they possess their own territory or recognized centre, emigrate for long periods to distant, and not always the same, objectives, and are almost always fractionized into small groups for reasons of watering and pasturing; or Bedouin who normally wander in desert territories, giving themselves exclusively to rearing camels. As examples of nomads in this sense he mentions the Aulad Shahin section of the 'Abaidat tribe and many units

(113)

[1] *La Cirenaica—Geografica-Economica-Politica*, edited by Olinto Marinelli, 1922-3.

[2] *Le Popolazioni della Cirenaica*, 1922-3, p. 444.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

of the more independent client tribes. In other words, all the Bedouin of Cyrenaica are nomadic in some degree, some more and some less, and Col. De Agostini rightly stresses that whether they move much or little they all have the same characteristics when compared to peasants and townsmen.[1] They are all *bwadi*, as the Cyrenaican dialect has it, people of the tents, and they see themselves as a single people against the *hadur*, the citizens.

I have so far said nothing of the towns of Cyrenaica or of their inhabitants. They play a minor part in this story, which is about the Bedouin, but they cannot be entirely left out of it on account of their economic and political relations with the Bedouin, so I take this opportunity to give a brief account of them.[2]

Banghazi, which is supposed to be called after the saint Sidi Ghazi, buried in the town, is on the site of the classical Berenice. It is believed that after the disappearance of the Graeco-Roman community the site was unoccupied till the fifteenth century, when it was reoccupied by immigrants from the mercantile communities of the Tripolitanian coast, among whom Misuratans, both Muslims and Jews, preponderated in numbers and wealth. The Genoese Della Cella, who passed through the fly-infested town in 1817–18, in the time of the Caramanlis, says that it then contained about 5,000 inhabitants, at least half of whom were Jews.[3] Shaikh Muhammad 'Uthman al-Hashaishi, who was in the town in 1896, says that the greater part of the traders were immigrants from Sfax and the Island of Jerba—he was himself a Tunisian and often tended to exaggerate Tunisian influence—with some Greeks and a few Italians. 'As to the Turks, they do not give themselves to trade.' At this time Banghazi was a very simple, mostly mud-and-rubble, town, and the learned Shaikh makes a point of telling us that there were no posts or telegraphs, nor even a railway, save a line of three kilometres joining the official

[1] Ibid., pp. 32–3.

[2] The historical information is chiefly derived from Agostini, ibid., pp. 413–43.

[3] Paolo Della Cella, *Narrative of an Expedition from Tripoli in Barbary to the Western Frontier of Egypt in 1817*, 1822, pp. 194–5. (First published in 1819.) F. W. and H. W. Beechey (*Proceedings of the Expedition to explore the Northern Coast of Africa from Tripoly Eastward in 1821 and 1822*, 1828, p. 299) consider Della Cella's estimate too high. Theirs is 2,000.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

of Cyrenaica.[1] The Bedouin remember with gratitude, as I have often heard them declare, the moral and cultural benefits brought to them by the Order. If they have fallen from the low religious and literary standards to which the Sanusiya raised a fraction of them it is due to the virtual extinction of its teaching office during their long struggle with the Italians.

II

The Bedouin the Grand Sanusi found in Cyrenaica were not only Muslims but also inveterate devotees of saints, the *Marabtin* (sing. *Marabat*) or Marabouts, as they are called in European accounts of North Africa, and the Grand Sanusi was in the long tradition of these holy men. Therefore, although I have touched on the matter in Chapter I, I need not excuse myself for treating it again in its Cyrenaican context, for Bedouin attachment to the Sanusiya springs from their personal devotion to the Grand Sanusi and his family, and not the other way round, and the Grand Sanusi derived his sanctity, and thereby his power, from the fact that he was a Marabout. The Bedouin are familiar with saints and ignorant of Orders. To them the Grand Sanusi was a saint and wonderworker, and a man with *baraka*, an ample measure of God's grace which flowed through him to ordinary folk; but there was nothing extraordinary about him. They knew his kind of old. When he died his tomb became a shrine, the largest and richest in Cyrenaica it is true, but only one among very many, dating from the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad, through the Martyrs who were killed fighting for the faith in Cyrenaica, to the pious and learned men of yesterday and the day before. His successors, by their kinship with him, and in virtue of their spiritual legacy from him, became heirs to his *baraka*; and so, to a lesser degree, have the heirs of the other religious teachers who came to Cyrenaica from the west, who died and were buried there, and whose descendants are the *Marabtin bil baraka* lineages of to-day. The authority the Grand Sanusi had over the Bedouin of Arabia and North Africa can be parallelled by the careers of many holy

[1] Giuseppe Macaluso, *Turchi, Senussi e Italiani in Libia*, 1930, p. 32; Giglio, op. cit., p. 22; and Arcangelo Ghisleri (quoting Andrea Pedretti), *Tripolitania e Cirenaica dal Mediterraneo al Sahara*, 1912, p. 132.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

795*
369
182

residential community but felt no strong obligation to one another nor the need for common action. Religious Orders in such communities tend to become fractionized along the lines of social cleavage into sub-urban and sub-sub-urban lodges, each serving a few families in its vicinity and leading its own life with its own following and resources independently of the others. Social life in the towns is amorphous. There is no structure corresponding to the tribal system. The Sanusiya became dominant because it shunned the towns and sought its converts among the Bedouin and built its centres within the tribes. The Sanusiya Brotherhood was founded on a Bedouin brotherhood.

It is of great interest to note that the Sanusiya held a place in relation to other Orders in western Arabia like to that which it held in Cyrenaica. The learned Dutch Arabist, Snouck Hurgronje, who spent a year in western Arabia in 1884 and 1885, states that in the towns the Order 'has remained to this day highly honoured, but by no means overtopping its sister orders. For the districts of the Hejâz, inhabited by Harbis and other Beduins, it possesses however the highest significance, for its practical mission has succeeded in bringing to a great extent under its leadership the sons of the desert who are refractory to all authority and are far removed from the official Islam.'[1]

[1] C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter Part of the 19th Century*, 1931, pp. 55–6. (First published in 1888–9.)

[113]

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1887-1942) Sanusi

*175 *648 *795 [118]

of the right of sanctuary within the precincts of the lodges of the Order. It is complimentary and written in the fulsome language of such documents.[1]

Nevertheless, the Turks were under no illusion. They did not believe that the Sanusi loved them, but they knew that if it came to a decision the Order and the Bedouin would support them against any of the Christian Powers of Europe. This is evident from the correspondence found in the archives of Tripoli by the Italians when they captured the town in 1911.[2] Shaikh Muhammad 'Uthman, writing in 1896, says frankly that the Turks were ill disposed towards the Sanusiya and would have liked to have taken Sayyid al-Mahdi to Istanbul and there given him a palace, the Turkish equivalent for *résidence forcée*, as they had done with Abu al-Huda, the Head of the Rifa'iya Order, and Shaikh Dafir, the Head of the Madaniya Order; and he adds that the Sayyid, on his side, had no liking for the Turks. When the Shaikh was in Banghazi the Shaikh of the Sanusiya lodge there was dismissed from his post by the Sayyid because he had allowed himself to be corrupted by the Turkish Authorities.[3]

The Ottoman Government was not much concerned about the exact juridical status of the Sanusiya Order, a question which greatly exercised Italian writers at a later date when this had become an important issue in their dealings with the Order. There were hundreds of Bedouin tribes and dozens of religious Orders in the Ottoman Empire and the Turks were matter-of-fact people who wisely left such questions alone. In the mosques under the Order's control the name of the Sultan was proclaimed at Friday prayers, but this means very little. Doubtless the Grand Sanusi and his successors took the view that the Caliphate had been usurped by the Ottoman Sultans—they could hardly have taken any other view—but it had long been in Ottoman hands and Turkey was the only independent Muslim Power capable of protecting Muslim interests. In practice also they accepted the secular authority of the Sultan as ruler of the Ottoman Empire.

[1] Salim bin 'Amir, op. cit., May 1944.

[2] Published in 1912 with the title *Relazione fra Turchi e Senussi. Documenti rinvenuti nell' Archivio di Tripoli* (Ufficio Politico Militare). Quoted by Macaluso, op. cit.

[3] Op. cit., pp. 65–6 and 106.

[113]

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

Turkish administration in 1910, and the Banghazi district, which came directly under the Governor of Cyrenaica for administration. Attached to each district were the sub-districts shown in the list below,[1] in which the tribes attached to each sub-district are also given. The Bara'asa came under Banghazi, although they lived well to the east, for political reasons, the tribe being exceptionally rebellious.[2]

Districts	*Sub-districts*	*Tribes*
Banghazi (directly dependent on the Governor)	Suuq	'Awaqir
	Qaminis	
	Barsis	
	Sidi Khalifa	
	Slanta	Bara'asa
al-Marj	al-Marj	'Arafa and 'Abid
	al-Haniya	Darsa
Darna	al-Sallum	'Abaidat
	Tubruq	
	al-Banba	
	al-Qubba	
	Shahhat	Hasa
Ajadabiya	Marsa Braiqa	Magharba
Aujila and Jalu	—	Awajila and Majabra
Kufra	—	—

The administration was very slapdash by European standards. Indeed, Shaikh Muhammad 'Uthman says darkly: 'There is at Banghazi no organization, political, administrative, or financial. I say no more about this matter: it will be understood why.'[3] This was, of course, an exaggeration, for however simple the administration may have been, and perhaps for that reason, it worked—with a good deal of grumbling it is true, but without undue conflict. Revenue was collected and would have exceeded the cost of the very cheap administration of the country if the proceeds of some taxes had not been sent to Istanbul. Much of this revenue came from import and export duties, but the bulk of it was derived from taxes on herds and a tenth of the harvest in kind, the collection of which was in the hands of the mudirs. It was the task of these mudirs, who were generally literate

[1] *Notizie relative al Sangiacato della Cirenaica e alle Mudirie dipendenti dal Mutassarifato di Bengasi* (Ufficio Politico Militare), 1913.

[2] Fabrizio Serra, *Italia e Senussia*, 1933, p. 17; idem in *La Cirenaica*, 1922–3, p. 182.

[3] Op. cit., pp. 59–60.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

*175
*C48

thirteen times the usual blood money, to the dead man's son. In 1898 the Darsa and Bara'asa threatened to prevent the Turkish Government from cutting cypress trees on their tribal lands for telegraph poles, although the trees were in law State property, and the matter had to be settled by negotiation, the Turks agreeing to pay for the trees on condition that the Bedouin helped in the cutting of them.[1] Turks and Bedouin managed in this kind of way to accept the presence of the other in a spirit of mutual tolerance. Just as the Sanusiya did not ask the Bedouin to change their way of life, but only to lead better lives, so the Turkish officials did not ask them to change their way of life, but only to pay taxes and, within reason, to keep the peace. In general we can agree with Professor Gregory's summary of the position when he wrote in 1909: 'The Turks apparently know how far they can go in interference with the Arabs, and during recent years have on more than one occasion altered their policy to avoid conflict with the natives.'[2]

II

The momentous events which took place in Turkey in 1908 made little difference to the political situation in Cyrenaica. In that year the 'Young Turks' gained control in Turkey and in the following year deposed the Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid II, who was succeeded by Muhammad the Fifth. The declaration of 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and Justice' was coldly received by the Arab population of Banghazi, and the attempt by a section of the Turkish officials to create in the town a local branch of the Committee of 'Union and Progress' met with the strongest opposition. The two Cyrenaican delegates elected to the Parliament at Istanbul in the elections which followed the new constitution were both candidates of the party opposed to 'Young Turk' policy. Both in Tripolitania and in Cyrenaica the Arabs, citizens and Bedouin, were outraged by the revolutionary and rationalist leanings of the 'Young Turks', who aimed at the destruction of the Caliphate and of the religious Orders which

[1] Savarese, op. cit., pp. 162–3.

[2] J. W. Gregory (and others), *Report on the Work of the Commission sent out by the Jewish Territorial Organization under the Auspices of the Governor-General of Tripoli to examine the Territory proposed for the Purpose of a Jewish Settlement in Cyrenaica*, 1909, p. 13. See also Coro, op. cit., p. 19; Giglio, op. cit., p. 36; and Ismail Chemali, *Gli Abitanti della Tripolitania*, 1916, p. 39.

[13]

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

*175 *648 *795

afterwards Marsa Matruh. The British made a counter-offensive in January 1916. Consistently beaten in a series of encounters, the forces of Sayyid Ahmad and Nuri Bey were finally routed at al-'Aqqaqir, to the west of Marsa Matruh, on 26 February 1916, by Gen. Peyton, an engagement in which Ja'afir Bey and his staff were captured. On 24 March al-Sallum was reoccupied. British armoured cars did great damage among the scattered Bedouin, 'shooting all loaded camels and men within reach'.[1] Seeing his men hopelessly routed and confused Sayyid Ahmad retired with a small bodyguard to Siwa oasis, then to al-Bahariya, Farafra, and finally al-Dakhla, in all of which oases in the Western Desert of Egypt there was a large Sanusi element. It is often said by writers, and the view seems to have been held by British Intelligence, though I do not know on what evidence, that he intended to link up with a revolt (November 1915) of 'Ali Dinar, the Sultan of Darfur in the Egyptian Sudan, though the Sultan had never been friendly towards the Sanusiya. It is quite possible that the Turks or the Sayyid, or both, had some such crazy plan. Anyhow, 'Ali Dinar's rising was crushed without difficulty and he was killed in the autumn of 1916.

After his defeat at the hands of the British, Sayyid Ahmad had at least the good sense to realize that his people were too exhausted to continue the struggle, that negotiations would have to be entered into, and that overtures from him were not likely to be acceptable to either the British or the Italians. He therefore, in the interests of his country and of his Order, handed over political and military control in Cyrenaica to Sayyid Idris. Sayyid Idris's brother, Sayyid al-Rida, was to assist him on the plateau and Sayyid Hilal in the Marmarica. Sayyid Safi al-Din was placed in charge of Sanusiya interests in the Sirtica, Sayyid Muhammad 'Abid in Fazzan and the *qibla*, and Sayyid 'Ali al-Khattab in the oases of Kufra. Sayyid Ahmad remained religious head of the Sanusiya *tariqa*.

It was, therefore, with Sayyid Ahmad's consent, indeed approval, that Sayyid Idris entered into negotiations with the British from Ajadabiya, whither he had repaired in the winter of 1915, before the attack in the Western Desert, to avoid being implicated in an action he could neither countenance nor stop.

[1] W. T. Massey, *The Desert Campaigns*, 1918, p. 150.

[113]

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

save the Italians much labour and danger. The policy had very limited success, for in practice the Patriots recruited from every tribe and every section. Bedouin sentiments about kinship and its obligations worked both ways. If it was a duty to avenge a slain kinsman it was no less a duty to protect and aid a living kinsman, and the sense of kin and its compelling influence in conduct, all that is meant by *'asabiya* in Bedouin values, are the life and the soul of the Romany world.

It took the Italians a long time to realize that the Bedouin mind was not all of one piece but a Joseph's coat of conflicting interests. These interests excluded each other as the social situation evoked one loyalty to the detriment of another and it was, therefore, only in terms of their social structure that the apparent inconsistencies of Bedouin behaviour could be understood. Consequently the Italians were for ever suffering disappointments and accused the Bedouin, with increasing resentment and bitterness as the struggle continued, of disloyalty and treachery. Among the collaborationists, the *mtalyanin*, the Italianized, as the Patriots called them, there was every degree of participation from passivity, the refraining from taking an active part in the resistance, to full co-operation with the Italian army as spies, guides, informers, and administrative officials; but even those guilty of the worst complicity could, especially when some personal tie was involved, do the guerrillas a good turn. Many poor Bedouin near the towns joined the Italian forces as one kind or other of irregulars, police, and friendlies, and as labourers and camelmen, and it was found that these, while drawing Italian pay and rations, did not hesitate to assist the Patriots when an opportunity offered itself. Desertions to the enemy with full equipment were frequent. Italian rifles and ammunition and even pay were often handed over to the guerrillas. After an engagement the ground was left strewn with live ammunition for the guerrillas to glean. Many reported fights between the Patriots and the submitted population were undoubtedly inventions to cover gifts of ammunition, supplied by the Italians, from the Italian-sponsored irregulars to the Patriot bands. These native battalions constituted, in fact, 'a sort of supply depot of men, arms, and ammunition for the Sanusi formations'.[1] Information about Italian troop move-

[1] 'La pulizia del Gebel Cirenaico', by 'Gadria', *L'Oltremare*, Dec. 1930.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

of resistance. It was useless to try to destroy this plant of the resistance by striking at its visible foliage, for when the fighting bands were hard pressed, they dispersed and resided among the *sottomessi* for repose, recuperation, and refitting.[1] Serra, looking back across the years of struggle, with their mixture of compromise and ruthlessness, optimism and disillusionment, tells the same sombre story. The implacable hostility of the Arabs to their Christian conquerors was as formless as it was ineradicable. Everybody and everything were against the invaders, but in a flaccid and crumbling opposition which inhibited a precise reaction. The enemy, he complains, habitually withdrew from the struggle. The environment offered nothing to the Italians and everything to the Bedouin, whose culture was unexacting and unpretentious. The Shaikhs had authority only so long as they opposed the Italians, and if they co-operated with them they lost it and could only regain it at Italian expense. The population was unstable, adventurous, and accustomed to such privations that they did not recognize the limits of resistance to the hardships of war. In one thing alone there was constancy and reality, the hatred they had for their Christian conquerors, which persisted in spite of all appearances and all protestations of friendship.[2] When Graziani took charge of the operations in 1930 he likened the Cyrenaican situation to 'a poisoned organism which sets up, on one point of the body, a purulent bube. The bube in this case was the fighting band of 'Umar al-Mukhtar, resulting from an entire infected situation.'[3]

In this semi-darkness of suspicion and uncertainty, this twilight of confidence, when every human being was a foe, the friend behind no less than the enemy in front, every thicket an ambush, and every crag and boss a sniper's nest, the campaign became distorted to unreality. It was a fantastic shadow-show in which dozens of unrelated episodes were thrown at the same time on to a gigantic screen.

[1] 'La pacificazione della Cirenaica', *Rivista delle Colonie Italiane*, 1932, p. 330.

[2] Op. cit., pp. 152–3. See also 'Che cosa è il Gebel Cirenaico', by the same writer, in *L'Oltremare*, May 1928.

[3] Op. cit., p. 64.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

175*
648*
795*

elusive an enemy.[1] Corrado Zoli (later Governor of Eritrea) tells the same story, how after 1923 began a long cycle of exhausting '*campagne di grande polizia*', repeated every year, and frequently two or three times in the same year, against an elusive enemy who kept the Italian forces in constant movement and alarms by endless surprises, incursions, raids, and ambushes; making use of his great mobility, powers of dispersal, tactical independence, and perfect knowledge of the insidious terrain, to avoid decisive encounters.[2] And in *Cirenaica Pacificata* Graziani tells us how the Arabs spoke during the long campaign, right up to its conclusion, of the two Governments of Cyrenaica, Italian and Sanusi, as 'the Government of the Day and the Government of the Night'.

V

In January 1923 the position was as follows: Italian posts to the south of Banghazi were up to some 50 km. from the Capital on the line Qaminis–al-Tailimun–Suluq; in the region between Banghazi and Talmaitha on the line al-Rajma–al-Marj–Qasr Libiya, running to a mean distance of 25 km. from the coast; and in the Shahhat area on the line al-Fayidiya–al-Qubba up to some 40 km. from the coast. In the region of Darna and between Tubruq and the Egyptian frontier the country was tranquil and was, in appearance at any rate, controlled by the Italian civil and military authorities as far as the southernmost encampments of the 'Abaidat. The Italians considered that the northern 'Awaqir, the 'Arafa, the Darsa, the Hasa, the northern Bara'asa, and the 'Abaidat were organized on the basis of the constitution of 1919.[3] In fact, however, their authority was negligible beyond the immediate vicinity of the towns and military posts. To the south of the Italian posts were the 'Mixed Camps' of al-Abyar, Taknis, Slanta, al-Makhili, and al-'Akrama, in each of which there were between about 100 and 300 Sanusi troops and rather more Italian troops, though the Italian garrisons were at the mercy of the Sanusi, since they were isolated in unfriendly country. The Sanusi had also estab-

[1] Attilio Teruzzi, *Cirenaica Verde*, 1931, pp. 338–9.

[2] 'La completa Conquista e l'Occupazione definitiva della Libia', *Rivista delle Colonie Italiane*, 1932, p. 169.

[3] Mondaini, op. cit., pp. 480–1.

[113]

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

*175 *648 *795

should the Italians find themselves at war with a European power. Efforts to obtain the extradition of the Sanusi leaders in Egypt were unsuccessful.[1]

The organization of the Order within Cyrenaica had been entirely disrupted during the years of war. The zawiyas had been destroyed by gun-fire, had fallen into ruin through neglect, or were being used as military posts by the Italians. Their Shaikhs had been scattered by the years of war and in 1930 had been rounded up and exiled at the same time as the properties of the Order had been confiscated on the grounds that while the Sanusiya existed as a corporation it would continue from its lodges to spread disaffection. The confiscation of the estates of the Order was viewed as the final act in its extirpation.[2]

When the Italians invaded Cyrenaica in 1911 they hoped that the Bedouin might remain neutral. They therefore declared repeatedly during the early stages of the war that the privileges of the Order and the customs of the people would be respected.[3] It can hardly be doubted that they did so in bad faith, for Giolitti had won support for the war among the peasants of southern Italy by promising them the exploitation of an Eldorado in Libya. Certainly, as the Italians themselves had to confess, they were not believed.[4] In retaliation for the support the Order gave the Turkish cause the Italians began to sequestrate its estates in those parts of the country where they had obtained a footing. At the end of 1913, Gen. Ottavio Briccola, the first Governor of Cyrenaica, ordered sequestration of its lodges and in the following year further instructions provided for seizure of the properties of the twelve lodges at that time in Italian hands. It is doubtful, however, whether these measures were intended to constitute complete and final confiscation. It is more likely that, as the Italians themselves say, they were temporary war measures to prevent the resources of the Order being used to support Sanusi forces operating all over the country against them, as a retaliation, and to provide a pawn with which to bargain when the Sanusiya decided to come to terms.

[1] Giglio, op. cit., p. 110.
[2] 'Italia e Senussia', *L'Oltremare*, Aug. 1930.
[3] Bourbon del Monte Santa Maria, *L'Islamismo e la Confraternità dei Senussi*, 1912, p. 240.
[4] *Norme Sommaire* for Political Officials, Aug. 1912, pp. 5–6.

[113]

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

*175
*648
727

In 1932 the Bedouin were released from the concentration camps into which they had been herded in 1930 and were allowed to return to their tribal territories. In spite of their losses in manpower, stock, and arms, it was felt that the closest watch must still be kept on them. Local officials were, therefore, instructed to keep detailed lists of distribution of tents, and soldiers were posted to picket the camps and prevent any movement without a permit from an Italian official. Any breach of the regulation, which was in force till 1938, was punished with imprisonment. This supervision by what amounted to a strict pass system was finally given up by Balbo, as it was found that it irritated the Bedouin without serving any useful purpose.

*175
*648

Like other governments that have had dealings with nomads, the Italian bureaucrats in charge of the administration could not abide that they should live free from their interference. It was held that it was wicked to be a nomad and that it was the duty of an administration to compel them to settle. Graziani declared that the nomads are 'enemies, and destroyers, of agriculture. Everywhere, in fact, the nomad has passed he has destroyed woods, trees and fields.' Therefore, 'the nomads have no justification and no right to claim to stay in areas of assured development, such as those of the Cyrenaican plateau, rich in promise of tree and cereal culture, but ought to be excluded from it for ever, leaving room for thousands and thousands of Italian arms which are stretched out there, anxious to begin again to till and make fruitful this ancient Roman earth'. Graziani held, furthermore, that not only must the Bedouin be kept off the fertile plateau, but must be stabilized in the country on the edge of the steppe where, in his opinion, they had sufficient and suitable land for pasturing and sowing. They would there find themselves in an environment perfectly responding *'alla loro natura di rapsodi del deserto'*. Here their every move, every halt, every camp ought to be under rigid supervision by government officials. Braida adds that by 1935 Graziani's plan had been put into operation in its main proposals.[1] The plateau was reserved for metropolitan colonization and the steppe for the Bedouin, who were subject to such rigorous control that it might be regarded as a prelude to

[113]

[1] Graziani, op. cit., p. 123; Vittorino Braida, *Memoria per l'Ufficiale dei Reparti indigeni della Cirenaica*, 1935, pp. 61–3.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

rendered in fighting faithfully for Italy.' On this point Balbo, who replaced Graziani, was equally emphatic: 'Chiefs do not exist any more—there are only citizens with equality of duties and rights.'[1] Tribal Shaikhs, therefore, were not asked to advise the Government or to co-operate with it in any official capacity and the subsidies they had received in the pre-Fascist and early Fascist periods were withdrawn. Cyrenaica under the Fascists was administered by decrees issued by a Governor directly responsible to the Minister for the Colonies at Rome. Under the Organic Law of 1927 a General Council with very limited advisory functions was allowed for, and Arabs chosen from the notables of the sedentary population and Shaikhs of the Bedouin tribes could be nominated to sit on it by the Minister for the Colonies on the recommendation of the Governor. Its constitutional importance was nil, because it never came into operation. It was replaced by the Law-Decree of 1934, by which Tripolitania and Cyrenaica became a single colony with the seat of its administration at Tripoli. The new colony was divided into four commissariats (Tripoli, Misurata, Bengasi, and Derna) and a military territory of the Sahara. Each commissariat came under a Prefect and was divided into administrative sections: departments, residencies, and districts, all under Italian officials. It was recognized that the Bedouin were divided into tribes and sub-tribes. At the head of each was a Shaikh chosen in accordance with tribal custom and nominated by the Head of a commissariat. The Shaikh of a tribe was personally responsible to the competent Italian authority for order and security within the tribal territory. His functions and powers were those accorded him by tribal custom. The Shaikhs of the sub-tribes came under his control and had within their sub-tribal areas functions analogous to his. All that this meant was that certain tribal Shaikhs were recognized as such in so far as they were held responsible for any shortcomings of the Bedouin, but were accorded no privileges and had no representation. Consultative councils, where allowed for, were composed of administrative officials. So long as the Bedouin obeyed the Government and submitted to whatever curtailments of their freedom and rights it chose to enact, they could stew in their own juice until the

[1] Italo Balbo, *La Politica Sociale Fascista verso gli Arabi della Libia*, 1938.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

Italians had more leisure to devote to breaking up tribal life altogether.

The final decree of the Fascists affecting Arab status was issued in 1939. It incorporated Tripolitania and Cyrenaica within the Kingdom of Italy, and to quiet any dismay this might cause among the Effendiya of the towns it offered them certain privileges, mostly nominal. The decree in no way affected the Bedouin. Indeed very little of the unceasing flow of legislation which poured from the Italian bureaucrats and lawyers in the form of Laws, Royal-Decrees, Royal-Law-Decrees, Ministerial Decrees, and Governatorial Decrees affected the Bedouin. The vast majority of these rules and regulations in no way touched their lives and they remained in blissful ignorance of their content. They had little or no money, they settled their own cases with the aid of their Shaikhs and religious teachers, they made their own trading arrangements, they provided their own labour, and so on. Where a law affected them it could often be eluded or circumvented. As the Bedouin themselves say, '*Sama' min gher ta'a*', 'To hear without obeying', is one of their chief characteristics. The Italians in any case, sitting comfortably in their offices and entirely out of touch with the people, relied on their Cyrenaican police and minor officials to report breaches of regulations, and if they did not choose to do so, the law became a dead letter. Also it cannot be assumed that because there were regulations great efforts were always made to enforce them. 'The gap between the letter of the law and daily practice, wide in all countries, becomes an abyss in Italy.'[1]

With all their regulations and petty interference the Italians were most careful not to offend Arab opinion in religious matters. From the moment of their invasion of Libya they vociferated their respect for Arab custom, culture, and religion. Thus the Minister Bertolini said to the Arabs in a discourse at Tripoli in 1914: 'We will respect your religion and your customs; we know the splendour with which your civilization has already illumined the world and we do not intend in any way to threaten it. . . .'[2] The Italians prided themselves on their Islamic policy and claimed that as a result of it and of their justice and of their

[1] James Meenan, *The Italian Corporative System*, 1944, p. 340.
[2] Mondaini, op. cit., pp. 327–8.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

175*
648*

care for the material welfare of their Muslim subjects their colonies were the only ones in which the Muslim subjects of European powers were not in a state of suppressed revolt.[1] Balbo said:

> 'The Government has never favoured in Libya any form of religious proselytism directed to the conversion of Muslims to another faith. On the contrary it has shown its interest in favour of Islamic cult by making important donations for the restoration of old mosques and for the construction of new ones, even in the desert territories where the nomads have never till now been able to kneel to the Almighty in sacred precincts.'[2]

They built mosques, restored the tombs of well-known saints, including that of the most famous of Cyrenaican saints, Sidi Rafa', which their troops had destroyed in the fighting, and celebrated zawiyas (other than those of the Sanusiya Order). They respected Islamic law and custom. While the civil, commercial, and penal codes and their rules of procedure were as in Italy, the personal status and law of inheritance of Muslims were guaranteed in all laws and decrees from the beginning of their occupation, and nothing might be taught in the schools contrary to Islamic principles. They issued ordinances defining the status and duties of the mufti and of qadis and to ensure the proper functioning of the Shari'a Courts and the *auqaf* (religious endowments) administration. They founded a religious training college at Tripoli to serve the two Libyan countries and make it unnecessary for students to go to al-Azhar in Egypt or al-Zaituna in Tunisia for koranic instruction, for in those places they were subject to anti-Italian propaganda. Their prefects attended Islamic ceremonies on important feast-days, especially on the Birthday of the Prophet, and distributed alms on these occasions. The Prefect of Darna even re-established the *zarda*, a festal excursion at the beginning of spring, for the students of the town, though this was hardly an Islamic function. They went further. They built mosques in their concentration camps. They permitted the kuttabs (local koranic schools) to remain open although they disapproved of them. They gave special facilities for the pilgrimage to Mecca and established an Italo-

[1] R. d. C., 'L'Italia per i suoi sudditi musulmani', *Riv. delle Col. It.*, 1938, pp. 1177–91.

[2] Op. cit., p. 9.

[113]

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

lodges. The Italians, who had some small schools in Libya even before 1911, gave considerable attention to educational matters from the earliest days of their occupation. The first educational programme for Libya, drawn up by the Arabist C. A. Nallino, was not accepted by the Central Government because it was felt that the proposals did not give the Administration effective control over the schools and that consequently education could not be sufficiently directed to political ends. Military conquest must be consolidated by moral conquest. This feeling hardened under the Fascists into an educational policy designed to meet the new programme of colonization. Mixed schools and classes were abolished in favour of schools for Italian boys and schools for Arab boys or, where they had to be taught in the same building, separate classes for each. Teaching, except of the Koran to the most junior pupils, was entirely in the hands of Italians. In the curriculum Italian took precedence over Arabic and it was intended that it should become eventually the sole medium of instruction. Arab boys learnt under the system to write Italian with greater facility than their own language. The aims of this education were to satisfy the cultural ambitions of the Arabs, while keeping them under control and preventing them from reaching a level of cultural equality with the Italians, and to provide minor government officials and a means of intercommunication by which the Arabs could more easily be employed in menial work.[1] It seems that by 1940 there were twenty-three schools for Arabs in Cyrenaica. Some of these were in centres within reach of Bedouin and a number of medical clinics were also opened in Bedouin areas. Less use was made of the schools than of the clinics.

Thus in every department of public life power and authority were retained by the Italians in their own hands and the people of the country had no representation in the Government and were not consulted about plans for their future. It was, however, necessary for the Italians to employ a number of Arabs in minor administrative posts, because they could not themselves make contact with the people, and in the Islamic courts, where they could not themselves function. After 1935, when Italy

[1] Dr. R. Micacchi, 'L'Instruction publique en Libye de 1912 à 1924', *Institut Colonial International*, 1926, and 'L'Enseignement aux indigènes dans les colonies italiennes dépendant directement de la Couronne', ibid. 1931.

[113]

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

Weisse Götter, who avoided all contact with the natives that was not unavoidable, and they rejected also the French policy of cultural assimilation and social and political equality with the *évolués*.[1] In 1938 the Under-Secretary for Italian Africa, Teruzzi, the ex-Governor of Cyrenaica, described the fundamental principle of Fascist native policy as a steering between the Anglo-Saxon colour bar and the French policy of assimilation which was not merely a middle course but an entirely new direction. At the same time he rejected the concept of indirect rule 'which leaves to the native chiefs very wide autonomy, not only administrative but also political, and which leads therefore inevitably to a slow detachment of the colony from the mother country'. The Italian policy was to regard their colonies as extensions of Italy beyond the seas.[2]

Had the Italians been content, as in the first years of their occupation, to restrict their immigration to the towns, where there was scope for a new element as traders, artisans, officials, and professional men, a symbiosis might have developed, for the Arabs were at that time incapable of these functions on an adequate scale, and the problem of adjustment might never have become acute; but when they began to organize mass colonization of the country-side, questions of status and racial interrelations appeared to present no other solution than that proposed. Even had racial miscegenation not been prohibited it could hardly have taken place between Catholic Italians and Muslim Arabs. Cultural assimilation was also unlikely because both Italians and Arabs were civilized peoples with a long cultural history behind them and it was most improbable that the Arabs would give up their religion, law, and language. No other solution seemed feasible, therefore, than that advocated by Balbo, the policy of parallel development in cultural matters and structural co-ordination within the framework of the Fascist State. The Arabs were to remain Arabs in speech, religion, personal law, customs, and manners, but their tribal structure was to disappear and its place was to be taken by political and economic institutions similar to those of their Italian fellow Libyans. 'We shall have in Libya not rulers and ruled, but

[1] Oskar Schmieder and Herbert Wilhelmy, *Die faschistische Kolonisation in Nordafrika*, 1939, pp. 79–80.

[2] Italo Neri, 'Politica Indigena', *Riv. delle Col. It.*, 1938, pp. 1301–2.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

measures would have convinced the Bedouin that they were compensated for the loss of their kinsmen, their lands, and their independence. In the event they were inadequate and they came too late.

Italian policy in Cyrenaica, like the colonial policies of other European powers, was full of contradictions. It is not within the scope of this book to discuss them, but I would draw the reader's attention to the changes this policy underwent during the thirty years between their occupation of the country and their embroilment in the late war. They were tactical changes demanded by the development of local, domestic, and international situations. There was no fundamental difference between the aims of the Fascist Government and the aims of pre-Fascist Governments. All intended to wrest Cyrenaica from its inhabitants by force of arms and by peopling it with Italians to exploit it for Italian economic, political, and above all strategic, purposes. They were attempting no more than other Colonial Powers had done before them, but they had waited too long, till the tide of colonial expansion was turning and the right of Europeans to rob native peoples of their lands was beginning to be challenged. Even so, it was not of their choosing or out of deference to humane considerations, but on account of military weakness and incompetence, that they made a truce with the Sanusi in 1917, and on account of domestic difficulties that they prolonged this truce to 1923. As soon as Mussolini had restored order in Italy he resumed the war Giolitti had begun, although he had been one of the most hostile critics of it at the time. When Graziani had crushed resistance the original plan of colonization was acted on. The migratory swarms from Italy of peasants, officials, traders, and hangers-on of all kinds, threatened the very existence of the Bedouin, who saw themselves being forced either to eke out their lives in the desert as a scarcely tolerated class of shepherds or to sink to the level of landless wage-earners in the country districts and of unskilled labourers in the towns. The Italians intended this to be their fate,[1] and it might well have been if events in Europe had not

[1] Giuseppe Daodiace, 'Latinità e colonizzazione nell' Africa del nord', *Riv. delle Col. e d'Oriente*, Feb. 1927, pp. 13–14; Filippo Lo Bello, *Rivista Coloniale*, 1925, p. 38; and Paolo D'Agostini Orsini di Camerota, *L'Italia nella politica africana*, 1926, p. 132.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

was expected to run the country with machinery with which they were totally unacquainted. Arabs being what they are, and circumstances being what they were in 1919, the constitution could hardly have been other than a failure. Indeed it is not surprising that Fascist writers later poured scorn on these well-meant efforts of pluto-democracy.[1] They were particularly shocked by the grant of Italian citizenship to the Arabs, especially as these same Arabs were exempted from compulsory military service. Under Federzoni, the first Fascist Minister for the Colonies, policy was in this matter, as in others, completely reversed. All agreements with the Sanusi were, as has been noted, torn up, and into the waste-paper basket with them went the local Parliament and the constitution of 1919. In its place was issued by the Royal Decree of 26 June 1927 the *Legge Organica per l'Amministrazione della Tripolitania e della Cirenaica*. In a sense this was a new, and Fascist, constitution though its constitutional content was subordinated to its administrative and judicial content. By it the Arabs ceased to be *cittadini italiani* and became *cittadini italiani libici*, they lost the right to free exercise of military and civil careers outside the colonies, electoral rights (parliament had in any case been abolished), the right to petition to the National Parliament, &c., and there was no mention of the liberty of the press, of the right of meeting, of freedom from military conscription, and of the protection of the Arabic language in public instruction. In general, the Arabs were no longer equal with the Italians before the law. Metropolitan citizenship might still be asked for under certain conditions. Application of this decree was several times postponed and it appears never to have come into operation.

Bedouin resistance in both Tripolitania and Cyrenaica still caused the Italians much trouble even as late as 1929 and on both military and political grounds it was deemed advisable to place the two countries under single direction. This was done by the Royal Decree of 24 January 1929 which placed the two colonies under Pietro Badoglio and by the Royal Decree of 3 December 1934, *Ordinamento Organico per l'Amministrazione della Libia*, which, as described in the last section, divided the single colony into four provincial commissariats and a mili-

[1] Alberto Stern, 'Il nuovo Ordinamento Fondamentale della Tripolitania e della Cirenaica', *Rivista delle Colonie Italiane*, 1934, p. 1027.

[113]

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

*175 *648 167

The first 20,000 new colonists for Libya were given a tremendous send-off in March 1938 and their settlement was completed during the following eight months. Those who came to Cyrenaica, probably more than half of the 20,000, partly went to complete the villages already in existence and partly to occupy the new holdings prepared for them at Baracca, Oberdan, D'Annunzio, and Battisti. The Cyrenaican quota of another 20,000 immigrants, the second wave of demographic colonization, was supposed to have followed in October 1939 to constitute the population of the newly constructed villages of Mameli, Sauro, and Filzi, but not all of them appear to have arrived. These two waves of mass immigration brought the number of farms to over 2,000 and the number of agricultural colonists to over 15,000 persons, making round about 50,000 Italian colonists of all kinds. Northern Cyrenaica had become in population and in appearance, as well as in law, part of Italy. Banghazi and Darna had become modern Italian towns which might well have been on the shores of Sicily or southern Italy. Modern roads cut through the plateau and for mile after mile were lined with Italian farmhouses and every few miles bisected Italian village centres. A railway ran from Banghazi to Suluq and from Banghazi to al-Marj and was in process of extension to Darna. An aqueduct was being built to carry water from Mara, near Darna, to the colonial villages as far to the west as those on the farther edge of the plain of al-Marj. Banghazi had been made into a modern port. Airlines to Banghazi ran from Rome, Tripoli, and Tubruq.

I have given a short sketch of Italian colonization of Cyrenaica only in order that the effect it had on the Bedouin may be better understood, for what concerns us is the fate of Muhammad, Mehemmed, Ahmad, and Abu Bakr, who with their flocks and herds were driven from the more fertile parts of the plateau to make way for Michele, Antonio, Italo, and Cesare. For over twenty years the Italians had been unable to colonize Cyrenaica for, as Graziani bluntly observed, 'It is plain that when one is making war one cannot plant trees, neither can one sow corn.'[1] Once resistance had been overcome it was merely a question of finding a legal formula for depriving the owners of the land of

[113]

[1] 'Panorama economico della Cirenaica', *Rivista delle Colonie Italiane*, 1933, p. 295.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

thirty-two holdings, for the Bedouin showed no inclination to work as serfs the lands they had worked as freemen: 'In their daily attitude coldness and scepticism were apparent so that the part they took in collaborating was purely formal.'[1] A pastoral village, furnished with veterinary and stud services and offices for the collection, classification, and weighing of wool, was built at Nahiba (Jardis al-'Abid) and another was planned to be built at Verde (Jardis al-Jarrari). Some may consider that these measures are evidence of Balbo's sincerity. The Bedouin believed that he intended to destroy them by guile as surely as Graziani had destroyed them with machine-gun and bomb.

V

When Giolitti landed troops in Cyrenaica and Tripolitania in 1911 he started his country on the road to ruin. The first Libyan war was from 1911 to 1917. In the midst of it Italy was involved, from 1915 to 1918, in the first Great War. From 1921 to 1932 she was again engaged in prosecuting her colonial war in Libya, first in Tripolitania, then in Cyrenaica also. From 1934 to 1936 she participated in the Spanish civil war. In 1935 and 1936 she conquered Ethiopia. In 1939 she seized Albania. From 1940 to 1944 she was engaged in the second Great War. It was appropriate that disaster should overcome the Italians in Cyrenaica, that the Bedouin of that country who had suffered so much at their hands should witness their humiliation, and that it should fall on the head of Graziani, who became Governor of Libya when Balbo was killed at Tubruq on 28 June 1940.

As the day of retribution drew near the Italians showed some uneasiness about the situation in Cyrenaica and, as I have recorded, they made belated attempts to conciliate the Arabs. Their uneasiness was partly due to the presence of the Sanusi leader Sayyid Idris and of a number of notable Cyrenaican and Tripolitanian Shaikhs in exile in Egypt. It could hardly be doubted that they would approach the British with offers of assistance should Italy enter the war on the side of Germany. This is what happened. In October 1939, when Italy's participation seemed imminent, the Cyrenaican and Tripolitanian

[1] Giuseppe Palloni, *The Action of the Italian Government in Favour of the Lybian Agriculture*, 1945, p. 31.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

[P.232]

APPENDIX II

A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

• 113

ONLY the most important authorities, and those I have made most use of, are cited. There is a very considerable literature on Cyrenaica, mostly in Italian and of very uneven quality. I have published part of a more comprehensive bibliography elsewhere.[1]

AGOSTINI, ENRICO DE, *Le Popolazioni della Tripolitania*, Tripoli, 1917.

—— *Le Popolazioni della Cirenaica*, Bengasi, 1922–3.

BELARDINELLI, ARSENIO, *La Ghibla*, Tripoli, 1935.

CANEVARI, EMILIO, *Zauie ed Ichuan Senussiti della Tripolitania*, Tripoli, 1917.

COLUCCI, MASSIMO, *Il Regime della Proprietà Fondiaria nell' Africa Italiana*, vol. i, *Libia*, Bologna, 1942.

DELLA CELLA, PAOLO, *Narrative of an Expedition from Tripoli in Barbary to the Western Frontier of Egypt in 1817*, translated (from the first Italian edition of 1819) by Anthony Aufrere, London, 1822.

DEPOIS, JEAN, *La Colonisation Italienne en Libye: Problèmes et Méthodes*, Paris, 1935.

DEPONT, OCTAVE, and COPPOLANI, XAVIER, *Les Confréries Religieuses Musulmanes*, Alger, 1897.

DUVEYRIER, H., *La Confrérie Musulmane de Sidi Mohammed ben 'Alî es Senoûsî et son Domaine géographique en l'Année 1300 de l'Hégire = 1883 de notre ère*, Paris, 1884.

GAIBI, AGOSTINO, *Storia delle Colonie Italiane*, Torino, 1934.

GIGLIO, CARLO, *La Confraternità Senussita dalle sue Origini ad Oggi*, Padova, 1932.

GRAZIANI, RODOLFO, *Cirenaica Pacificata*, Milano, 1932.

Handbook on Cyrenaica (by several authors), Cairo, 1944–7.

HASSANEIN, A. M., BEY, *The Lost Oases*, London, 1925.

LAMMENS, —., *L'Islam*, Beyrouth, 2nd ed., 1941.

La Nuova Italia d'Oltremare (edited by Angelo Piccioli), Roma–Milano, 1933–4 (2 vols.).

LE CHATELIER, A., *Les Confréries Musulmanes du Hedjaz*, Paris, 1887.

MACALUSO, GIUSEPPE, *Turchi, Senussi e Italiani in Libia*, Bengasi, 1930.

[1] *African Studies*, 1945 and 1946.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

MONDAINI, G., *Manuale di Storia e Legislazione Coloniale del Regno d'Italia*, Roma, 1927 (2 vols.).

MUHAMMAD AL-AKHDAR AL-'ISAWI, *Raf' al-Sitar 'amma ja'a fi Kitab 'Umar al-Mukhtar*, Cairo, 1936.

MUHAMMAD IBN 'UTHMAN AL-HASHAISHI (Mohammed ben Otsmane el-Hachaichi), *Voyage au Pays des Senoussia à travers la Tripolitaine et les Pays Touareg*, translated by Serres and Lasram, Paris, 1912 (first edition 1903).

MURRAY, G. W., *Sons of Ishmael*, London, 1935.

PACHO, JEAN RAIMOND, *Relation d'un Voyage dans la Marmarique, la Cyrénaïque et les Oasis d'Audjelah et de Maradèh*, Paris, 1827.

RENZI, EDMONDO DE, *Nozioni sull' Islam con speciale riguardo alla Tripolitania*, Tripoli, 1918.

RINN, LOÜIS, *Marabouts et Khouan*, Alger, 1884.

SALIM BIN 'AMIR, A series of articles on the Grand Sanusi in Cyrenaica in *Majallat 'Umar al-Mukhtar*, Banghazi, 1943–4.

SAVARESE, ENZO, *Le Terre della Cirenaica*, Bengasi, 1926–8.

SERRA, FABRIZIO, *Italia e Senussia*, Milano–Roma, 1933.

TERUZZI, ATTILIO, *Cirenaica Verde*, Milano, 1931.

[p. 234 is blank]

5: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1967 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica

1950, but his kind of tyranny was absent from the Cyrenaica of that period. From the mid-nineteenth century until the Italian invasion of 1911, the Sanusi Order established itself, spread its lodges throughout the tribes and in other more remote lands until it became what Evans-Pritchard speaks of as a theocratic empire.[1] The lodges served as areas of sanctuary and their staffs adjudicated disputes. Leaders of the Order had the power to coerce and the Bedouin obeyed. They obeyed out of personal regard for some of them in 1950, but the religious authority previously used by the leaders had given way to the political power they now exercised as functionaries in a state system. In the meantime, the country had been ravaged by the long Italo-Sanusi wars. Throughout the nineteen-thirties after suffering terrible privations and reduction in numbers through slaughter in war, death in concentration camps, and exile, the Bedouin were ruled by the Italians. During the Second World War the armies of three major contestants fought their battles where the Bedouin now tend their flocks and herds. After the war they were left to fend for themselves, with a minimum of administrative interference.

In the light of all this the conception of an equilibrium system is of little heuristic value, still less its derivative concept of a repetitive system. This does not mean, however, that an account of part of the social life of the Bedouin as it existed in 1950 must be nothing more than a disconnected piece of history, unrelated to a prior state of things and wholly useless for the understanding of the contemporary oil-producing cum mixed pastoral-agricultural economy. It would be little more than a piece of social historiography if the analysis was based on the concept of a total social structure of functionally interconnected parts, forming what Leach describes as 'a delicately balanced mechanism rather like the various parts of a wrist watch'.[2] Such a viewpoint would effectively exclude any possible comprehension of changes save those present as part of the dynamics of a system; its only answer to change is an account of a different system. If, instead, attention is focused on the analysis of a field of components arranged in a specific fashion to meet the interests of men at a particular time, it then becomes possible to see how a shift in their positions, the addition of new components, or the elimination of others produces this or that effect. It can make intelligible what has gone before, and if the future cannot be anticipated it can be demarcated within rough limits.

REFERENCES

BOHANNAN, P. 1957. *Justice and Judgement Among the Tiv*. London.
—— 1963. *Social Anthropology*. New York.
BURKHARDT, J. L. 1931. *Notes on the Bedouins and the Wahabys*. London.
CHAPPLE, E., and COON, C. S. 1942. *The Principles of Anthropology*. New York.
COLSON, E. 1962. *The Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia: social and religious studies*. Manchester. (See especially the essay entitled: 'Social Control and Vengeance among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia.')
COON, C. S. 1952. *Caravan*. London. Cape.
EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E. 1940. *The Nuer*. Oxford.
—— 1949. *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*. Oxford.
FORDE, C. D. 1948. 'The Integration of Social Anthropological Studies', *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.* lxxviii. 1–10.
FORTES, M. 1945. *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*. London.

modern territory of his tribe. See also Hamilton, 1856.

[1] Evans-Pritchard, 1949. In this book a brilliant account is given of the development of the Order, and how it came to unify and provide centralized political leadership for the tribes.

[2] Leach, 1961, p. 6.

5: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1967 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica

● 113 FORTES, M. 1953. 'The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups', *American Anthropologist*, lv. 17–41.
—— 1959. 'Descent, Filiation and Affinity', *Man*, 309 and 331.
GLUCKMAN, M. 1955. 'The Peace in the Feud', *Custom and Conflict in Africa*. Oxford.
HAMILTON, J. H. 1856. *Wanderings in North Africa*. London.
LEACH, E. R. 1957. 'Aspects of Bride Wealth Stability among the Kachin and Lakher', *Man*, 59.
—— 1961. *Rethinking Anthropology*. London.
PETERS, E. L. 1959. 'The Proliferation of Segments in the Lineage of the Bedouin of Cyrenaica', *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.* lxxxix. 29–53.
—— 1965. 'Aspects of the Family among the Bedouin of Cyrenaica', *Comparative Family Systems*, ed. Nimkoff, M. F. Boston.
—— 1966. 'The Tied and the Free', *Contributions to Mediterranean Sociology*, ed. Peristiany, J. Paris.
QUELL, G. *et al.* 1951. *Sin* (trans. Grundmann, W., and Coates, J. R.). London.
ROBERTSON SMITH, W. 1903. *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*. London.
SMITH, M. G. 1956. 'Segmentary Lineage Systems', *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.* lxxxvi. 39–80.
SMITH, R. M., and PORCHER, A. 1864. *The History of Recent Discoveries at Cyrene*. London.

Résumé

ASPECTS STRUCTURELS DE L'HOSTILITÉ CHEZ LES BÉDOUINS DE CYRÉNAÏQUE

000

LE propos essentiel de cet article est d'examiner l'utilité du lignage pris comme modèle pour l'analyse d'une institution sociale particulière. On considère généralement que les Bédouins de Cyrénaïque fournissent un exemple d'un système basé sur le lignage, *par excellence*, et si le lignage en tant que modèle a le potentiel analytique qu'on lui accorde en général, on pourrait alors comprendre, grâce à cela, les composantes d'une institution de la société Bédouine. Les faits choisis pour l'analyse sont ceux qui sont liés aux réajustements des rapports sociaux, nécessités par une rupture des accords pacifiques normaux provoquée par des homicides sous leurs différentes formes.

Dans la première partie de l'article, l'auteur donne un aperçu de la généalogie des groupes de populations concernées. Il analyse en détail les différents modes de conduite en relation avec les différents types d'homicides, en terme de structure de lignage. Il en tire la conclusion que chaque mode de conduite spécifique vis à vis de l'homicide peut être relié aux différents stades de la stratification sociale. Mais pour démontrer ce processus général, certains homicides, qui sont considérés par les Bédouins comme des cas spéciaux, doivent être exclus.

Dans la seconde partie de l'article, l'auteur tente de prouver que ces ' cas spéciaux ' sont aussi fréquents et institutionnalisés que ceux examinés dans l'analyse structurale, et, par conséquent, doivent être compris de la même façon. Si, cependant, les faits se rapportant à ces 'cas spéciaux ' sont considérés avec tout leur poids dans l'analyse, le lignage en tant que modèle, se trouve inadéquat. La conclusion que l'on en tire, est que la structure du lignage n'est pas un modèle sociologique, mais une conceptualisation que se font les Bédouins de leurs rapports sociaux. Ils se trouvent dans l'obligation d'utiliser ce concept car il est, en certains points, en accord avec la réalité et fournit une solution complète, si on met à part certains cas spèciaux. Sous l'angle sociologique, cela implique que l'on considère certains faits comme marginaux, ou en opposition avec l'ordre habituel des choses. L'auteur émet l'hypothèse qu'il n'y a aucune raison de les envisager ainsi. Par conséquent, le lignage en tant que modèle, considéré comme une référence de base pour l'analyse, doit être abandonné et l'on doit adopter une autre référence de base qui permette d'inclure les ' cas spéciaux '. De plus, ce point de vue s'applique non seulement à l'analyse des homicides, mais aussi à l'analyse d'autres problèmes (par exemple, la distribution du pouvoir) et fait apparaître l'inanité de la théorie du lignage. Mais si le lignage d'une population est relégué au rôle d'un fait, ou d'une série de faits, parmi d'autres, l'analyse qu'apporte cet article permet non seluement d'envisager un plus grand nombre de problèmes, mais permet aussi une approche plus directe de l'étude des changements sociaux sur le plan théorique.

6: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1965 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica

Second, the fiction that nothing has happened, which characterises the father's behavior, does not cease with the termination of the celebrations. Each morning, soon after daybreak and before the camp is astir, the groom must leave his bride and repair to his father's tent to lie at his father's side "as he always had done in the past, as if he had not left him." This conventional ruse is followed, not just for the seven days of wedding festivities, but is continued after the groom has moved back into the camp proper, and pitched his tent alongside his father's, with the ropes of the two tents crossing.

In matters other than sleeping arrangements, this fiction that "nothing has happened" is maintained. Marriage does not mean the immediate creation of a wholly separate domestic unit. Save for the appearance of an additional tent, the ordinary run of daytime activities is scarcely altered. To mention perhaps the most important feature of the relationships between father and son, the groom continues to eat with his father. As yet, the son does not use his own bowl,[1] and may not, indeed, do so for several years. The important symbolism of "eating together" or "eating out of the one bowl," the act of commensality creating a bond of fellowship about which Robertson Smith[2] wrote so eloquently can only be referred to here in one of its many aspects. Bedouin themselves stress that eating together is a strong bond, and the communal meal is always used for this purpose after the settlement of a dispute, or at the conclusion of a blood-money agreement, and so on. It is significant also in the sense that those who partake of a meal accept the authority of the host; he becomes their protector, and a blow against one of them is struck at him also. Even if the guest is an enemy,[3] as long as he has eaten from another's bowl his life is safe.

The slaughter of an animal for another person creates a bond which has its roots in the intimate connection between man and his animals. In a very vivid way, the Bedouin view their animals as part of themselves, as part of their *Risiq*, their general wealth, in which their sons are included. It is this mystical association between a man and his animals which distinguishes a meal consisting of the meat of an animal slaughtered from ones' own flock or herd from a meal consisting of meat bought from a butcher's shop — often given by the plateau peoples of Northern Cyrenaica to their guests, but which the camel-herding Bedouin of the south regard as despicable hospitality. A slaughtered animal is the food, *par excellence*, which establishes this bond

[1] When Bedouin take their meals, they eat from large wooden bowls imported from south of the Sahara. It is a matter of custom that a man does not eat alone unless it is unavoidable, a custom of such strength, that, when, one day, only an elder, occupying a tent the ropes of which were crossed with mine, was left in camp, he brought his bowl into my tent "so that I will be eating with a man."

[2] William Robertson Smith. *The Religion of the Semites.* 3rd ed. London: Macmillan, 1927.

[3] A stranger entering a camp is under no obligation to give his identity. Few do so until they have partaken of a meal. In the past, the Bedouin claim, the period of anonymity could last for 40 days, but nowadays, they say they limit it to two only. I have known strangers enter a camp, receive entertainment, and leave without offering any specific identity.

Cases

were imminent, because the marriages of two of the men were anticipated, two others harboured more distant hopes and boys in all the tents would soon be youths. The composition of this camp, caught at a moment in time, was a function of the age and sex distribution of its inhabitants. All camps show regularities in their structure, but their content is dynamic. Certain general features persist, but the alignments of people undergo change with equal persistency. What priority is given to each of these considerations, which component occupies the nucleating centre for others, will depend on the problem under analysis, for while I have stressed that this or that is important, I do not wish to suggest that any single factor has an absolute importance compared with others, except in relation to a specific problem.

Selected Readings

Ayoub, M. R. "Parallel Cousin Marriage and Endogamy," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 15 (1959), pp. 266–275.

Barth, F. "Father's Brother's Daughter's Marriage in Kurdistan," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 10 (1954), pp. 164–171.

Durkheim, E. *The Division of Labour*. Paris: F. Alcan, 1902.

Evans-Pritchard, E. E. *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*. New York: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1951.

———. *Kinship and Marriage Among the Nuer*. New York: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1951.

Fortes, M. *The Web of Kinship Among the Tallensi*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1949.

Gluckman, M. (Ed.) *Essays on the Rituals of Social Relations*. Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1962.

Goody, J. *Death Property and the Ancestors*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1962.

———— (Ed.). *The Developmental Cycle in Domestic Groups*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958.

Maine, H. S. *Ancient Law* (with introduction by Sir Frederick Pollock). New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1906.

Murphy, R. F., and L. Kasdan. "The Structure of Parallel Cousin Marriage," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 61 (1959).

Patai, R. "Cousin-Right in Middle Eastern Marriage," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 2 (1955).

Peters, E. L. "The Proliferation of Segments in the Lineage of the Bedouin in Cyrenaica," *Journal of Royal Anthropology Inst.*, Vol. 90 (1960).

———. "Aspects of Status and Rank Among Muslims in a Lebanese Village," *Mediterranean Countrymen*, Ed. Pitt-Rivers. Paris: Mouton, 1963.

Rosenfeld, H. "An Analysis of Marriage Statistics for a Moslem and Christian Arab Village," *International Archives for Ethnography*, Vol. 48 (1957).

Smith, Robertson. *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 3rd ed. London: Black, 1927.

9: Murray E, K-3, 4 (ca. 1910-1935) 1935 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Egypt

maintained to this day in the desert between the last two and the Sa'adi, though they are relaxed in the cultivation.

The Jumei'at, who used to be "Murabitin" to the Beni 'Una, are now nominally so to the Awlad 'Ali, but are not required to pay tribute. Other tribes, such as the Jawabis and 'Awarma, are in an intermediate stage between the Sa'adi and the Murabitin. The Awlad 'Abd es-Sallam, the Samalus ed-Diminat, and perhaps the Fawakhir, call themselves "Murabitin bil Baraka", a priestly caste which, in Tripoli, used to receive special privileges from the Turkish Government.

Though the Sa'adi tribes despise the Murabitin as serfs, they respect them for their piety and resort to them for the writing of charms.

While the Murabitin tribes generally may be suspected to contain more Libyan blood than the Sa'adi, there are other tribes such as the 'Amayim, the Jahama, and the Tarhuna, who have come to Egypt from further west than any of the above, and who seem to be quite definitely "Berber", though, of course, none of them will admit it. These are known euphemistically as 'Arab el-Gharb.

Even some of the Juheina, settled east of the Nile in Sharqiya, are scorned by Klippel as "d'origine berbère, se pretendant section d'une tribu d'Arabie".[1]

Awlad 'Ali.—This tribe, by far the most important of the Western Bedouin, occupies with its vassals the whole north coast of Egypt from Salum to Alexandria. Like the others, they claim descent from the Beni Suleim, alleging their ancestor 'Ali, son of 'Aqar, to be a grandson of that Dib, or Abu Dib, mentioned by Ibn Khaldun. Their enemies, however, allege that he was a Jew. "When the Arabs occupied the north coast of Africa, there was a notable, a Jew, who owned property at Saqiet el-Hamra in Morocco. This man welcomed and entertained the Arab sheikh Ez-Zanati. He became very popular with the sheikh, who gave him his daughter named Sa'ada, on condition that he embraced Islam before the marriage contract was made out."[2] Another version calls the Jew Yana, and says that he had two daughters. Of these Sa'ada was the

[1] E. Klippel, "Etudes sur le folklore Bédouin de l'Egypte," *Bull. Soc. Khédiv. de Géogr.*, vii. 10, Cairo, 1911.

[2] From information collected by Muhammad Bey Wasfi.